1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-D]

142
291
585
777
493
→

585
292
←

ABOVE: "Good-luck lady" leads typical Hsin Hsing bride to sedan chair. LEFT: Son of successful Hsin Hsing village migrant and his bride. BELOW: *Pai-pai* to T'ien Kung for sixteen-year-old boy.

782
142
352
373
415
291

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P. 148-E]

142
269
516
415

708
532
142
291

ABOVE: Ancestor worship. RIGHT: Altar in kung t'ing with statues of invited gods. BELOW: *Tao shih* begins *pai-pai* at midnight before arrival of bride.

585
415
292
352
793

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

[P.148-G]

585
534
291
516
342
142

ABOVE: Neighboring village comes to Hsin Hsing to pick up bride. BELOW: Sending boys off to army.

702
291
142
493

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

future and long-term considerations, in Hsin Hsing the needs of the present are by no means overlooked. When a family enters into marriage or adoption proceedings, the parents make the arrangements with great care, because taking another person into the family may mean extra hands for the work of the household or merely an extra mouth to feed. The new person can facilitate the building and continuation of a stronger and larger family or hasten the family's division or destruction. One other important factor to be considered is that through the extension of relationships with *ch'in ch'i* (matrilateral and affinal relatives) beyond the village by either marriage or adoption, the family can enhance its socioeconomic security and political position. For these reasons, marriage and adoption are contractual matters in Taiwan, determined by whole families rather than individuals.

MARRIAGE

While surname and *tsu* exogamy is universal in the Hsin Hsing area as well as in traditional southeast China, marriage within one's own village is not uncommon, but is clearly preferred outside the village. It is considered incestuous for any person to marry another who bears the same surname. Whether the other is actually a member of one's own *tsu* (a *ch'in tsu*) or a perfect stranger, possibly even from another part of Taiwan, the rule still holds. One may still read stories in the newspapers of the suicide in the city of two lovers whose families forbade their marriage because they bore the same surname. In the village even a mention of such a marriage is frowned on.

Except for this prohibition, however, there are no rules against marriage within one's own village. Of course, in a single *tsu* village the individual has no choice but marriage outside the village. However, in villages like Hsin Hsing with a number of surnames, marriage between villagers is not unusual. In 1958 there were about twelve cases in which the families of both husband and wife were Hsin Hsing villagers.

There are a number of reasons why, even in a multi-*tsu* type of village such as Hsin Hsing, the villagers prefer marriage with someone from elsewhere. One is that the small population of the village and the presence there of only twelve surname groups limits the individual's choice of a mate. Another less practical reason lies in the general village attitude that "It is better to marry outside of the village since marriages between two families of the same village are just not as interesting." When the bride lives in another village some distance away, the marriage procession with its musical accompaniment from the groom's village to the girl's village and back again carrying the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

582 585 gifts and dowry, goes through or past several other villages, drawing crowds of people as it passes. To the villagers this is all exciting and something which should be part of a marriage. At the occasional marriage between two Hsin Hsing villagers, the wedding procession with sedan chairs, dowry, and music goes along a regular route through two neighboring villages and back to Hsin Hsing. Villagers do not consider this quite as stimulating.

582 578 606 The preference for marriage beyond the village limits also rests on the feeling that it is not a good thing to have one's in-laws too close or to have the bride in too close proximity to her parents' home. When the two families live nearby, there is too much opportunity for bad feeling to develop between them. When the two families are in the same village, every detail of how the daughter-in-law is treated by her husband's family immediately reaches her own family, and it is far too easy for the girl to run home with complaints about every hardship, real or imaginary, in her new family. This sort of thing can easily cause interfamily conflict. In intravillage marriages in Hsin Hsing there have also been instances where a daughter-in-law has spent too much time in her old home, helping her mother instead of always being available in her husband's house to do whatever work is asked of her. Of the twelve marriages between Hsin Hsing families, relations between the two families in five cases were not considered good for a variety of such reasons.

582 584 626 Another factor favoring marriage outside the village is the village parents' fear of gossip about the circumstances of the marriage. If both families live in Hsin Hsing village there is a good chance that the boy and girl knew each other before marriage; this in itself is considered improper, and people are very likely to say that this was a "love marriage" forced upon the two families because the young couple had been secretly seeing each other and having sexual intercourse. When one hears village discussions of marriages which have taken place between Hsin Hsing villagers, one gets the idea that almost all of them have been the result of a secret love affair. Such secret affairs do usually force the two families to agree eventually to a union between the two young people. Thus, in most instances, neither the couple nor their parents will willingly discuss the reasons for an intravillage marriage. When they do, they usually say that the marriage was arranged because both families felt the boy and the girl were well suited. They feel it is necessary to defend such a marriage from the inevitable talk. Family members usually remark that they had firsthand knowledge, without needing the word of a matchmaker, that the girl would be a good worker and an asset to the family. However, no matter what reasons are given, other villagers openly discuss the matter, often good-naturedly teasing those involved and making jokes about the "real" basis for the marriage.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

Thus, by reason of their *tsu* or other patrilineal relationships and their physical proximity, such groups within the village tend more easily to become cooperating units in many phases of their daily lives. In addition to the small amount of corporate land which one of the village *tsu* groups owns, some *tsu* (and, more frequently, patrilineal relatives who have recently divided into separate households) may continue to share certain expensive farm implements or may even buy them cooperatively. Such implements will usually be rented out to a nonrelated villager, but they will be lent out without charge to a *tsu* or other patrilineal relative as long as there is no bad feeling between the two related families. Therefore, a member of one of the two Shih families which is not affiliated with the other two Shih *tsu* and which lives in a separate part of the village—but which recognizes a shared mainland ancestor with one of the Shih *tsu*—receives the loan of the latter's threshing machine without charge. Although they do not recognize an actual *tsu* relationship with him, they do feel he is more than simply an ordinary *ch'in t'ang*, and thus they lend him things which others would normally pay to use.

Patrilineally related families are also more frequently willing to lend each other small amounts of money without any interest charge, and it is very common to find such families, again especially those which have recently divided, cooperating in odd chores which demand more labor than any individual economic family may have available. As mentioned in Chapter 3, they frequently exchange labor at harvest-time—possibly without counting a day for a day. In one case, a joint family which had a married son in the army divided itself economically, thus leaving the soldier son's wife and child on their own. This division was initiated by the wife, who did not get along with the family and thought she could manage better alone. After the division, however, she very soon found herself unable to manage, and it was necessary for her husband's father and brothers and *ch'in tsu* in the village to help her. The villagers were critical of her; they felt that before division, as one family, the others had to help her as a matter of course. But once the bond was broken, she had to seek their help and in so doing incurred an obligation to them and lost some face.

Weddings bring forth the most obvious form of cooperation between patrilineal relatives. There are great festivities on such occasions, and the family of the bride or groom entertains many people, especially *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village, at a banquet. At such times the family needs a great deal of extra help in serving the food to the many guests and in acting as hosts. Patrilineal relatives play an important part on these occasions, since they do not need to be formally entertained as do *ch'in ch'i* and friends from outside the village with whom there is a more formal relationship.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

adulthood, often lead to important relationships between two unrelated village families in the economic and social aspects of life. The frequently formed non-kin relationships may also be based upon a common interest in the production and marketing of certain crops, common irrigation problems on land in the same area, or membership in the same water pumping station cooperative. On such bases, then, villagers have the opportunity to make contact with non-kin fellow villagers, and sometimes with people from neighboring villages, and to establish strong friendships and mutual visiting relationships over long periods of time. On the other hand, some villagers who have these relationships in common never develop a real friendship on these bases alone.

VILLAGE SOLIDARITY

What exist, then, in Hsin Hsing village, and apparently in most of the surrounding villages, are many diversified groupings which cross kin lines. A single family is usually a member of more than one such group. Although the feeling of membership in a *tsu* group is often strongest, the feeling of solidarity with any grouping will vary according to the particular situation. Hsin Hsing is therefore unlike the *tsu* village with its large single *tsu* organization in which relationships are primarily based on kinship, and which may perhaps lend some over-all unity to the many smaller groupings. Hsin Hsing does not have this all-encompassing and overriding kinship organization or feeling of solidarity to provide real unity to the internal diversification.

The village is not entirely lacking in solidarity. There are many occasions, mostly religious or festive, when a basis for village unity does exist. Such events are the birthday of the village god, certain religious processions and *pai-pai* occasions, and often a village marriage or death (all of which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 7 and 8). But feelings of village unity do not necessarily extend to the rendering of substantial assistance to any particular village family or household in need of aid, and in Hsin Hsing the result is a general insecurity and fear by most villagers that in times of personal distress aid may not be forthcoming from within the village.

Because the village has no single uniting thread to minimize natural cleavages, it is often difficult for the many different kinship groupings to cooperate in meeting an unusual problem which may arise for any village family. Many of the villagers would be unwilling to exert themselves, even if the mayor were to ask for help for any one family. If the family in need is opposed to the mayor politically, not in his *tsu* group, or is a smaller individual family with little influence in the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

628 invite one's fellow villagers to the family feast. This means that if one
612 is to have guests, and this is most desirable, it is usual to invite one's
796 *ch'in ch'i* and friends from other villages. In a sense, the *pai-pai* fur-
574 nishes the villager with an opportunity to entertain his *ch'in ch'i*. In
[621] any village, no matter how poor, such occasions are frequent and, most important, reciprocal, so that on this basis alone there is much visiting back and forth. On such visits among the *ch'in ch'i*, there is usually a good deal of warm feeling, often helped along by alcohol. Sometimes a *ch'in ch'i* may even remain overnight, not necessarily by intention.

585 This same type of visiting takes place at the marriage festival of a
593 son or daughter, when the principal guests are usually *ch'in ch'i*. At a
612 wedding festival of a son the most important guest is felt to be the
604 groom's oldest maternal uncle, who sits in the seat of honor. The
[171] importance of the maternal uncle at the wedding reception as well as other similar relationships with this uncle have been pointed out by Fei (1939:87) and other ethnographers working in mainland China villages.

562 Women, whenever possible, like to return to their natal home for a
574 visit, but such occasions are limited by household duties. In a smaller
593 and poorer household such visits may be relatively infrequent, but in a
[606] large joint family, especially if it is well-to-do, daughters-in-law take
[612] turns so that the visits may be both frequent and prolonged. Consequently, much of the visiting between *ch'in ch'i*, especially in poorer villages, is limited to the male members of the family. If the family is small, i.e., not of the joint-family type, it is usually difficult for a woman to leave her house and young children in order to return to her natal home at the frequent *pai-pai* and other visiting occasions. And so frequently we find the curious situation of the husbands and sons and often the husband's father going alone to the wife's or mother's natal home.

574 If on certain occasions the woman does accompany the men back to
593 her natal home, she then dresses up and spends most of her time
612 talking and helping in the kitchen and back rooms with her female relatives. The men, on the other hand, are warmly entertained in the mainroom of the house and are introduced to other guests, usually the host's *ch'in ch'i* through other relatives. Such meetings often lead to new contacts and friendships.

628 But the mutual visiting by *ch'in ch'i* is not limited to formal occa-
612 sions like the *pai-pai* or marriages. Villagers, especially when they
574 happen to be in the vicinity of a *ch'in ch'i's* residence, miss no opportunity to visit; there may sometimes be a planned visit when one is not busy with chores. In addition, when traveling to other areas, the home of a *ch'in ch'i* is usually a good stopping-off place where one will probably receive a warm reception. On these visits, which are talked about later with great pleasure, the villager is made welcome as a

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

581 584 their daughters' economic and social position will be improved by marriage or that their son will marry a girl with a large dowry. One reason the villagers give for not attempting to arrange marriages within their own village is that "after all, everyone in one's own village knows exactly how poor you really are."

584 583 It is only after the amount and kind of engagement gifts and dowry have been settled through the matchmaker's negotiations that the marriage agreement is considered definite. These gifts are, then, "like a marriage contract." The engagement gifts the boy's family sends to the girl and her family may consist of cash, a common figure being about NT $2,000, plus cloth and jewelry for the girl. When these gifts arrive, her family sends back gifts of gold, clothing (a belt, purse, and so on) and sometimes some cash. At the wedding the girl's family may return most of the gifts to the husband's family in her dowry of furniture, clothing, and even cash. However, as the villagers point out, "Usually in a marriage, all gifts considered, it costs the boy's side more than the girl's. If the boy sends gifts of cash, much of it will come back from the girl's side since her family will use the engagement money to furnish the dowry. If the girl's dowry includes a radio or bicycle, [584] however, then her family might spend more." A family's reputation may be enhanced or lowered by the worth of the engagement gifts or dowry it provides. In the unusual case that the girl's dowry is smaller than the boy's side expected, his family may treat their new daughter-in-law badly, thus adversely affecting relations between the two families. 584 When the arrangements for a marriage are completed, both families send money to the matchmaker. Usually, the groom's family 465 sends twice as much as the bride's. The matchmaker is also remembered on the occasion of the birth of the couple's first son, when the couple sends her fried glutinous rice to thank her for arranging their marriage.

585 Several months at least separate the official engagement from the wedding, for which preparations are quite elaborate. Formal invitations are sent out by the boy's family to those *ch'in ch'i* and friends in [203] the area who have already sent gifts to commemorate the occasion. "To send invitations to anyone else would be like asking for money, and that would be embarrassing," say the villagers. The invitations are delivered personally by members of the boy's family, *tsu*, or close family friends in the village. The groom's house is decorated with red streamers, wall and door hangings, and scrolls bearing lucky sayings and good wishes for the occasion. Lengths of cloth with money and messages of good wishes pasted on them are sent by friends and relatives and are put up on the walls of the ancestral-worship room. If the [618] groom's family is a member of a *tsu*, the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room is used for this purpose as well as for the ritual, even if the family has its own private room.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The night before the wedding day, starting at midnight, a *pai-pai* is held at the boy's home. A Taoist priest (*tao shih*) officiates at the ceremony, held in honor of T'ien Kung to thank him for guarding the boy so that he could reach marriageable age, and prayers are said for the future of the boy and his family. At the same time, many lesser gods are invited to the *pai-pai* to be worshipped, and statues of these gods (which may belong to other villagers) are brought to the ancestral-worship room of the boy's home. The village orchestra performs during most of this ceremonial to entertain T'ien Kung. Many expensive foods, including at least one whole dressed pig and goat, bottles of wine, and a good deal of paper money are offered in honor of the gods and their soldiers and horses. (A description of the Taoist pantheon is found in Chapter 8.)

The *tao shih* invites the gods to partake of the sacrifices and transmits to them the prayers of the family. In the course of the ritual the *tao shih* and the participating members of the family, including the groom and his father and brothers, simulate trips to heaven and to the underworld to communicate with the gods. A shaman, known as *t'ang t'ung* (his broader functions are also described in detail in Chapter 8), accompanies them on these "trips." He is possessed by a local, less powerful, and important god known as an ambassador god and thus acts as the intermediary between the family and the higher gods. "After all," queried a villager on this point, "can a common man go directly on his own to see and talk with an emperor?"

Much of the food offered at the *pai-pai* is sent the next day as gifts to the girl's family; during the next several days it is fed to the guests who attend the wedding festival as well as the many people, usually *ch'in tsu* or fellow villagers, who help in the preparations and entertainment of the guests at the girl's village. The cost to both sets of parents is very great, and the poorest families save for a long time or borrow money in order to have a proper wedding festival.

While the boy's family is holding the *pai-pai* on the night before the marriage, the girl's family is busy with preparations for the next day. When the marriage broker, accompanied by the carriers bearing more gifts, and the village orchestra arrive, they are fed in the girl's village. Then, they help the girl's family load the many carts with her dowry and the sweet cakes which accompany the bride when she goes to the groom's village in her sedan chair.

The vehicles which carry the gifts to the bride's family and take the dowry back to the groom's village are either rented wheeled carts drawn by men hired in Lukang or trays carried on poles by the groom's *ch'in tsu* and/or fellow villagers. Only a wealthy family can afford to use the many hand-carried trays, since all the carriers must be fed banquet food and those who carry heavy items are given *hung pao* (money wrapped in a red paper packet). Far fewer wheeled carts are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

585 493 required to transport the gifts, and fewer men are needed to pull them. Hired men must be paid wages and fed simple food, but since there are so few of them the over-all cost is much less. When a prosperous villager asks his *ch'in tsu* and fellow villagers to participate and help carry the gifts and dowry, the occasion becomes much gayer since so many members of the village are taking part.

In most marriages in the village area today, two sedan chairs are used, each carried by two hired men. One transports the marriage broker to and from the bride's village, and the other carries the bride to the groom's village. During the prewar Japanese period when gasoline was plentiful and inexpensive, a taxi was more commonly used. Today, labor is cheaper than gasoline, and therefore it is only the wealthier or more modern villagers who use a taxi.

585 583 When the dowry is loaded on the carts in the girl's village, the villagers all turn out to watch the proceedings and scrutinize the articles. The dowry generally includes furniture, new clothing, and jewelry, as well as certain ordinary household cleaning items to symbolize the tasks the girl will perform in her new home. A portion of a dressed pig sent by the groom's family is cut up, and much of it goes back to the groom's family along with the dowry.

585 [769] While the carts are being loaded, the girl bids farewell to her family and the ancestors of her natal home. For the last time she goes with her parents and worships the ancestors. Then she is led into the waiting sedan chair by a "good-luck lady," who must be an old woman with a living husband and many descendants. It is she, therefore, who finally sends the bride off alone, in the hope that the girl will have a similar good fortune. The good-luck lady also gives the bride a red string and instructs her to hang it over her bed to insure the fidelity of her husband.

585 152 The departure is accompanied by a good deal of crying by the girl, her mother, and other women of the immediate family. These tears, of course, reflect sincere regret at parting as well as the girl's fear at leaving the familiarity of her home and family. There is no doubt, however, that much of the girl's weeping is a conventional display of filial piety to show that she regrets leaving the home where she has been brought up and treated so well all her life. To smile on this occasion or not to weep for all to see would be extremely disrespectful toward her parents.

585 [493] [782] The bridal procession, consisting of the two sedan chairs, the vehicles carrying the dowry, and the accompanying village orchestra, then takes leave of the girl's village and begins its journey to her new home. The whole procession is preceded by a man carrying a bamboo pole some twenty-five feet long with a piece of meat tied at its tip as an offering to the mythical tiger which would otherwise devour the bride.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The bridal train follows a predetermined route, passing through several villages to display the dowry for all to see, even if the bridal couple live in neighboring villages and even if they happen to come from the same village. All along the route the special wedding music of gongs and horns attracts villagers who wish to see the procession.

The time of arrival in the groom's village, usually in the afternoon, has previously been fixed by a geomancer. Most of the villagers are outdoors waiting to examine the dowry. The bride's sedan chair is placed before the door of the boy's house, but the girl may not leave the chair and enter the house until the dowry has been ritually examined and accepted by the groom. Once this is done, a child of the household formally welcomes the bride to her new home, and she is led from the sedan chair and escorted into the house by the matchmaker. On entering the house the bride steps over a burning brazier and steps on and breaks a piece of red tile. The first act symbolically cleanses her of any ill fortune she may have picked up accidentally along the way (an example of such an accidental contamination is for the wedding caravan to pass a funeral along its route). The second act symbolizes the bride's willingness and her intention to obey her new family. These acts completed, she is led to a private room where "according to custom" she spends the next several hours alone except for occasional visits from the matchmaker.

That evening a festive banquet is held to celebrate the marriage. An even number of courses is always served, sometimes as many as sixteen to eighteen, and a great deal of wine is consumed. The banquet is attended by many guests, male and female, old and young, for the most part relatives (*ch'in ch'i*) and friends of the boy's family only. The adult males eat apart from the women and children. Either a *ch'in tsu* of the groom or else a fellow villager plays host at almost every table of male guests to see that the guests eat and drink and are generally entertained. Finger games to promote the drinking of wine are usually played. Other male *ch'in tsu* and village friends and neighbors serve the food to the guests, while the women help in the kitchen. The male cooks are hired from the village or from the local area. Dishes, tables, and chairs are hired for the occasion in Lukang and brought into the village by oxcart.

About halfway through the banquet the bride is brought out and, together with the groom and his parents, is formally presented to the assemblage of guests and villagers by a highly regarded elder *ch'in tsu* or a respected villager. After this introduction, many respected guests are called upon to give brief speeches; in these they remind the young couple of their duty to their parents and express hopes that children will soon result from the marriage, especially boys. The speeches completed, the groom goes from table to table, drinking with and accept-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several villagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually, several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

While the girl spends most of the evening in the kitchen or back rooms of the house with her female relatives, the boy and his companions are formally entertained by the bride's father and other male relatives at the banquet. Most of the banquet guests are *ch'in ch'i* and friends of the girl's family, and the men who serve the food and entertain the guests are *ch'in tsu*, close friends, and neighbors.

Before many hours have passed the bride, the groom, and his companions take leave of their hosts. Since this is their first formal visit, it is important "to eat little and leave early" to show their politeness, although the party continues after they have left.

The guests who are formally invited to this banquet and to the wedding festival in the groom's home are those who have sent a gift. The form of the gift usually depends upon the relationship the guest has with the family. Close *ch'in tsu* or *ch'in ch'i* commonly send lengths of cloth with several hundred NT dollars and messages of good wishes pasted on them which are displayed on the walls. Other guests may simply send money wrapped in a red paper packet. Regardless of the kind of gift or who it comes from, the receiving family informally records the name of the donor and the amount of the gift. This is done so that later, on a similar occasion, an approximately equivalent gift can be returned.

On the third day after the wedding the new daughter-in-law begins to work in her husband's house. From the outset she is carefully supervised by her mother-in-law and usually does much of the cooking, washing, and general housecleaning. "If the daughter-in-law is good, she will listen to and obey all the family, including her sisters-in-law and even her husband's younger sisters." This is the best way for her to demonstrate that she is anxious to learn the ways of her new home and please her new family.

A girl's parents cannot visit their daughter in her new home for the first four months after she is married. While the girl can pay them brief visits during this period, such visits are dependent upon the economic condition of her husband's family and the number of people who can perform the necessary household tasks in her place. If she were to leave her household duties undone she could easily anger her mother-in-law. To avoid such a contingency, many newly married girls rarely see their parents during the early months of marriage. However, if a girl marries within her home village, she may easily be tempted to visit her parents frequently, and perhaps even to continue to do some of her old tasks for her mother—all at the expense of the work she now owes her husband's family. Such a situation can provoke the mother-in-law to treat the girl harshly and may eventually lead to bad feeling between the two families, since they live in close proximity and therefore know everything that goes on in the other's house.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

ADULTHOOD

593 Marriage does not affect substantially the customary daily routine of a young man, for as a new husband he continues to spend as much of his free time with his friends as he did before his marriage and almost never allows himself to be seen publicly with his wife. (This would be embarrassing both to himself and his wife, since people would say they must be in love and laugh at them.) The boy does not usually achieve higher status nor assume many more responsibilities upon his marriage. In general, he continues to function under the authority of his father, unless a family division takes place. Many older villagers point out that the boy does not become an adult by virtue of his marriage.

851 Usually, it is not until the birth of the first child, and perhaps even a division of the joint or stem family, that the boy begins to settle down. He then achieves more status in both his family and the village; he feels a resonsibility for his family and ceases to spend all his spare time with his friends. He also begins to voice strong opinions about the running of the household. There are exceptional boys who, even before marriage, assume a great deal of responsibility and spend little time with their friends. Once married, such boys berome even more responsible.

[461] Unlike her husband, the bride is immediately saddled with work and various responsibilities and has even less time for recreation than she had before. Like her husband she gains little increase in status from her marriage. For her, adult status is not achieved until she has established her position in the family by bearing a child, preferably a male child. Until then she is not really part of the family.[4] The villagers tell a story of a girl whose family did not send an adequate dowry with her when she married. Her husband's family was dissatisfied, and eventually she was sent home. However, when the boy's family realized that she was pregnant, she was immediately brought back and made welcome in their house. Real status and authority are achieved by a daughter-in-law when she finally assumes the role of the wife of the head of the family upon family division or the death or retirement of her mother-in-law. It is thus easy to understand why daughters-in-law often agitate for family division.

461 An adult male's leisure is usually determined by the agricultural season. However, even during the harvest, when people are busiest, there is seldom rushed or harried activity. Since men can do their work only during the day, the evening is a time for relaxation during both the busy and the slack seasons. Many men spend their free time visiting each other at home or at the village store where one can buy a stick of sugarcane or some flavored ice in the hot weather.

guest of honor, a position which is lower than the place to the left of the guest of honor because it is on the right hand side of the table, but higher than the second seat on the left side of the table because it is closer to the altar. The same principles are applied to the assignment of the family sleeping quarters. As the person of highest status in the family, the head of the household takes as his bedroom the room to the immediate left of the kōng-thiâ:, while his younger brother or married son will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:. If the head of the household has both a younger brother and married sons, the younger brother will occupy the room to the right of the kōng-thiâ:, the sons taking as their quarters a room at the end of the house or even a room in a wing of the house. The living arrangements of the various members of a household thus serve as a constant and not very subtle reminder of their relative status in the family hierarchy.

The kōng-thiâ: is what one might call the public area of the house. It is the portal through which the family carries on its relationships with the world outside of the house. When guests come they enter through the kōng-thiâ:, and they leave by way of the kōng-thiâ:. It is also by way of the kōng-thiâ: that a bride first enters her husband's family, and it is through the kōng-thiâ: that a deceased member of the family passes out of the family circle. The other side of a family's life, its private or domestic side as contrasted with its public side, is centered not in the kōng-thiâ:, but rather in the family kitchen. Typically located in one of the two end rooms of the house, the kitchen invariably contains a large red brick cooking stove, the symbol of the domestic

many respects remained surprisingly unchanged. Brides today wear white western style wedding dresses, but otherwise the ritual of the nuptial ceremonies is much the same as it was at the turn of the century. The head of one household destroyed his ancestral tablets several years ago in a fit of anger, the ancestors having "let his mother and his wife die," but with this one exception every family in the village continues to make regular sacrifices to the deceased. Western medicine and relatively modern medical facilities are readily available, and yet two men are able to make a living in the Hsulin area as shamans. Many of the young village men wear their hair long in imitation of the Japanese imitation of Elvis Presley, but they are still willing to serve as bearers every year when the god Shang Ti Kung is carried in a heavy sedan chair across a bed of hot coals. Nor are these simply empty observances carried on out of the inertia of the young and nostalgia of the old. Particularly in respect to religion, the traditional life of the village displays real vitality. As late as 1925 a group of villagers established a new committee to organize worship for the god Tai Tzu Yeh, and in the year immediately before the war the people of Chichou contributed both time and money to rebuild the Shang Ti Kung temple. Even as late as 1960 it was possible for the committee in charge of the temple to collect several thousand dollars to hire two Taoist nuns to care for the building.

In one very important respect, however, there has been a real and irreversible change in the life of Hsiachichou, a change which has begun to have a substantial effect upon marriage forms and family life.

584 606 aunts urging her to keep her finger stiff and not let the mother-in-law dominate her. Although in most instances either the mother-in-law or the daughter-in-law will give in to the other, it occasionally happens that two strong willed women meet, and there is then a brief but tense struggle as the ring is placed on the girl's finger, this possibility being the issue which gives a sense of climax to every engagement.

584 585 183 When the two parties to a marriage are both very poor they may agree to hold the engagement and wedding on the same day as a means of saving money, but it is generally recognized in Hsiachichou that to be proper the engagement and wedding should be separated by at least a year. The result is that most weddings take place quite some time after the engagement. Families who cannot afford a separate engagement and wedding will not ordinarily undertake the preferred form of marriage at all, preferring to adopt a "little daughter-in-law", while those families who can afford the preferred marriage will usually not want [584] to risk their face by telescoping the engagement and wedding. As we shall see later, one of the primary motivations for undertaking the preferred form of marriage is that the cost of such a marriage gives a family an opportunity for enhancing their social standing, and so any family which chooses to undertake such a marriage is not going to offset the prestige of the marriage by carrying it out in anything but the proper manner.

585 The wedding which climaxes the preferred form of marriage is always an occasion of some magnitude. The typical village wedding is attended by at least a hundred people, and we witnessed one wedding which had

585 attracted some two to three hundred guests. These ordinarily include the bride's immediate family, her personal friends, and an assortment of her relatives; the groom's family and his personal friends; the groom's maternal relatives and most of his paternal relatives; and often the groom's neighbors and business acquaintances. Those families who are distantly related, or who live at some distance from the village, ordinarily send only one of their members, usually the head of the household, to represent the family, but in the case of more closely related relatives and neighbors the entire family will attend the wedding. The women gossip and sometimes help in the kitchen with the preparation of food; the men stand about in small clusters talking and smoking; and the children organize themselves for playing "wedding," hop-scotch, or tops. The result is what the villager's call lǎu-zi̍t, "noise " or "enthusiasm," and it is a good wedding when there is much lǎu zi̍t, wealthy families sometimes hiring a professional band to stand in front of the house and add to the uproar.

The wedding itself begins when the go-between leads a procession of the groom and his friends and relatives to the girl's home to claim the bride. When they arrive in the girl's village they are usually greeted by a large gathering of the bride's friends and relatives who have been called to eat the traditional wedding cakes, and there naturally follows an exchange of introductions and greetings between the two parties. Amidst these otherwise festive surroundings occurs what is perhaps one of the most tragic scenes in all of village life. Every bride knows that once she leaves her parental home she can never return.

585
591
152

585 No matter how cruelly her mother-in-law may treat her, no matter how
591 unattractive or incompetent her husband, she must make her life in their
152 home or else somehow manage her own support. As one village woman put it, "You can go home to your parents, and they may sympathize and let you stay for a few days, but you will still have to go back to your husband's family. Your parents can't be expected to feed you all of your life. Once you are married the rice is cooked." Since the bride will have only just met her husband's parents, and perhaps never have seen her husband himself, her departure from her parents home is a great and uncertain step in her life. It is not surprising that most brides forget their wedding finery and plead with their parents to allow them to stay in their natal home. Tradition asks of them that they make some display of reluctance as a means of showing affection for their parents, but it is clear that the painful leave-takings are less a formality and more a sincere expression of fear and foreboding.

585 When at last the go-between manages to lead the reluctant and crying bride out of the house to the waiting procession, her friends and relatives gather around to bid her farewell. "May you soon bear a son." "May your childbirth be easy." "May you soon become a mother-in-law yourself." Upon its arrival in the groom's village the vehicle containing the bride is immediately surrounded by crowds of curious adults and dozens of children who chant nasty little ditties. "The bride is like a pig; the new bride has big legs; the new bride is fat like a sow." This trial usually continues for some fifteen or twenty minutes while the go-between makes last minute preparations for the

585 bride's entry into the house, and then at last the girl is led into the house and presented to her husband's ancestors. Thus begins the lifelong process of her incorporation into her husband's family. The birth of her first child will affirm her position in the family, but it will not be until she dies and takes her own place on the family altar that the process will be completed.

The festivities which occupy the remainder of the day, and which often last on into the following day, are much less concerned with the bride and groom than they are with the importance of their two families. The female guests in the house pass in and out of the new couple's bedroom for another look at the new bride, and his friends joke with the groom and attempt to get him drunk, but otherwise the bride and groom pass from the center of attention. At the major feast of the day it is the groom's mother's brother, not the groom, who sits at the seat of honor, and the various speeches and toasts offered by local notables tend to be more concerned with the family's reputation and status than with the happiness and future of the newlyweds. The family history is described as long and illustrious; the names of notable members of the family are recalled for renewed honor; and assurances are given that the family's name will shine and their fortune prosper. The more the speakers drink, the more lavish and general the congratulations. The schoolmaster is praised for his erudition and scholarly accomplishments; the village mayor is thanked for his great contributions to the general welfare; and the community is described again and again as having a widely respected reputation in the eyes of its neighbors. Each new

585
273
521
[604]

585 toast introduces a new round of flattery, and every drink exaggerates
[273] the virtues of those present. Later that evening some of the younger
[32] guests make their way to the newlyweds' quarters to hold something like a shivaree, but this is only as a side show to the feasting in the ancestral hall which may last until late at night.

593 The formal marriage procedure is brought to completion three days
585 after the wedding when the bride pays her first visit to her parental family. From a functional point of view, the significance of this visit lies in the fact that it constitutes a declaration of the bride's new status vis-à-vis her consanguineal relatives. She left her parental home as a daughter and an intimate member of her natal family; she now returns as a member of another family and as a guest. Her mother or her sisters serve her tea in the kòng-thia̍: as they might serve a respected guest, and it is expected that these former intimates will now make at least a show of formality. The ceremony is, in fact, referred to as cu̍e-khe̍q, "being a guest." After this first visit the the bride may return to her home from time to time to visit with her relatives and commiserate with her mother, and it is expected of her that she return for a somewhat more formal visit every New Year. As time passes, however, and the girl becomes more and more secure in her new home, she visits her parental family less and less often, so that one finds that many older women do not return to their natal home even at New Years. As one informant explained, "Once you have children you are too busy, and then your parents die so that you don't know anyone there anymore, and finally you just don't feel like going back there."

*584 *585 *597 Such ceremony as is associated with the sîm-pûà form of marriage is likewise very simple. As was the case with all brides thirty or forty years ago, the girl will ordinarily be dressed in red the day her residence is transferred from her parental home to her future husband's home, and it is common for families in Hsiachichou to take the girl home "to be a guest" several days after the "wedding." But there are no feasts, no guests and no band, and often no go-between; in short, none of the activities that make a preferred marriage proper and successful. Later, when the girl is old enough to marry, it is necessary to perform a second ceremony to unite her with her husband, but this is likewise a very simple ceremony as compared with the preferred patrilocal marriage. When the parents feel that their son and their "daughter-in-law" are old enough to marry they will usually take the occasion of a New Years to present them to their ancestors and thus accomplish their union as husband and wife. Since there are always a number of guests in the house on the occasion of any New Years, there will always be a number of people to witness this presentation, but it is not necessary to invite guests particularly for this purpose. According to most informants, it is not even necessary for the girl's real parents to be present, this being what we might call an intra-family rather than an inter-family affair.

*584 *597 *593 The childhood status of the sîm-pûà in her foster home is something of an enigma. Given the obvious ceremonial equation of her entry into her husband's home with that of a bride in the preferred form of marriage, one might assume that her adoption is equivalent to marriage, making

583 584 585 We were told by several informants in Hsiachichou that when a man marries into his wife's family the ritual should be a simple inversion of the ritual of the preferred form of marriage. By way of giving an example, one informant said that at the engagement the bride should sit facing her family altar instead of sitting with her back to the altar, this reversal symbolizing the fact that she is remaining in her family rather than leaving it. But whatever the procedure may be for carrying out the ideal matrilocal marriage, the fact is that in practice most matrilocal marriages are carried out with a minimum of ritual. [554] One reason for this is probably the simple fact that matrilocal marriages are not prestigeful, particularly not for the man who is marrying into his wife's family. There is no way in which a family can enhance their social position by having an elaborate engagement and marriage. Beyond this, there is the fact that the social situation of the matrilocal marriage is so different that there is no motivation for following the usual procedures. No man is willing to give a bride price when he is making a marriage which is not to his advantage, and there is no point in giving a dowry to a daughter who is not leaving the family. One man who married into Hsiachichou is reputed to have reversed the usual procedures and brought a dowry with him to his wife's family, but this was a very unusual case in which for some reason [185] the girl's family paid for the gifts. Marriage ritual is defined as the ritual of the preferred patrilocal marriage, and insofar as any marriage departs from this form it is without a ritual model.

preferred form of marriage are prohibitive. Whereas it costs no more than a token price of several hundred dollars to adopt a sim-pûa, it may cost a family the equivalent of a year's income to obtain a bride in the preferred way. In the first place, there is the bride price, the amount of which varies but which averages around NT$8000. Secondly, there is the cost of the marriage cakes which must be sent to the girl's family for distribution to their friends and relatives. The average cost of these is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000, although some families may have to expend as much as NT$6000 or even NT$7000. Thirdly, there is the expense of the jewelry which must be presented to the birde on the occasion of the engagement, the minimum requirement being a gold ring, gold earrings, and a gold bracelet. Even when a family buys the lightest jewelry they can find, the cost is somewhere between NT$3000 and NT$4000. Most burdensome of all, there is the expense of the various feasts associated with the wedding, all of which are the responsibility of the groom's family. At the very least these cost a family NT$7000 or NT$8000, and a family which "cares about face" may spend as much as NT$12,000 to NT$15,000. Beyond these major expenditures, they are also innumerable smaller items. It may be necessary for a family to enlarge its house or at least refurnish a room; a gift of NT$500 to NT$1000 must be made to the go-between for "bringing happiness;" taxis have to be hired for the groom's relatives to fetch the bride on the day of the wedding: and there are always sundry functionaries who must be given "red packets" to thank them for some service or favor. Fortunately for the beleaguered family which undertakes such a marriage, these expenses are to some extent

offset by gifts received from friends and relatives at the time of the wedding. Depending upon their degree of relationship, relatives usually give between NT$40 and NT$80, except for the groom's mother's brother who must give at least NT$500; and friends and neighbors usually give NT$20 to NT$50, although good friends may give considerably more. But while these gifts are a welcome boon, they do not even meet the cost of the wedding feast which is approximately NT$80 per guest. Given then that the average family's gross income is somewhere between NT$15,000 and NT$20,000 one can understand why it is that many families are reluctant to undertake a preferred marriage for even one son, let alone two or three. The cost of even one such marriage may put a family into debt for years.

There are, of course, various ways in which a family can economize on the preferred form of marriage. They can bargain over the bride price until it is reduced to the bare minimum; they can buy the lightest and least expensive jewelry available; the wedding feasts can be limited to the family's closest relatives; and such common elaborations as a band and taxicabs can be eliminated. The point is that if a family has to economize so drastically it is better for them to adopt a sim-pua than to even attempt the preferred marriage. For the same reason that a family can gain face by marrying a son in the preferred way, they can lose face by carrying out such a marriage in a manner that does not satisfy people's expectations. A sim-pua marriage does not enhance one's social position, but neither does it involve the risk of losing such prestige as the family may enjoy.

*584 regarded by foreigners as one of the more unusual Taiwanese customs,
178 it might easily become identified for the younger generation as
177 symbolic of the traditional society. Young people might therefore be particularly reluctant to make such marriages because of their association with the "old" as contrasted with the "new". Such a line of argument undoubtedly contains a certain amount of truth. As Japanese and Western influence became strong on Taiwan and the younger generation was attracted by what was identified for them as "modern" and "new," the sīm-pûà marriage did tend to be tagged as "traditional" and "the old way of doing things." Again, however, this cannot be the whole picture, for resistance to the sīm-pûà form of marriage is not a new phenomenon. There is evidence which seems to indicate that even before foreign influences had any appreciable effect on Taiwan the sīm-pûà marriage was generally regarded as an unhappy fate by *584 those who had to make such a marriage. While many of our older informants in the village would argue that the sīm-pûà form of marriage was a good thing, this was always from the point of view of their status as parents or grandparents. When asked if they themselves had been happy to make such a marriage they were generally as opposed [585] to the idea as their children. It is also relevant here to note the use of the term sàng-cûe-tûi to refer to the brief New Year's ceremony which unites a man and his foster sister as husband and wife. The term is best translated simply "pushing them together," and is usually explained with a rough pushing movement of both hands. Since the phrase is traditional as well as common usage, it would seem to

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

wife. Considering his prosperous independence, this step in itself was as exciting to the villagers as would have been the traditional return of erring sons in Confucian tracts on filiality.

Why did Lim Hue-lieng choose this way of publicly reinstating himself in his father's home? The least generous answer might be that at that particular moment he had need of a respectable tie, a semblance of a stable family background, and that his father had set the marriage as a formal act of contrition. Considering the nature of Hue-lieng's power, this seems unlikely. More likely his decision came from a growing maturity that allowed other elements of his personality to take precedence over his glowering independent pride. His respect for the traditional mores of his society had threaded its way through all of his *lo mua* activities, had prompted him to keep Hotien as the base for his life rather than to move into the gayer world of the city, and had maintained his loyalty to relatives and friends. He had rebelled against his father's domination, but in his own way he respected him. His rebellion had not altered his affection for his mother, nor for his younger brother, although the latter out of loyalty to his father was sometimes cold and hostile to Hue-lieng's overtures. And perhaps Lim Hue-lieng felt pity for the desolate future of A-pou if she had no position in the growing family beyond that of unmarried adopted sister.

Unlike the elaborate feasts and festivities that mark the marriage of two unrelated adults, the wedding of foster siblings is a quiet ceremony witnessed only by members of the family and perhaps a few other relatives. In recent years, this form of marriage has almost completely disappeared from Taiwan. Parents find in it many advantages, but the young people themselves loathe it. Nowadays when jobs outside the village give young men more bargaining power with their parents, they refuse to marry their foster sisters. Their objections are primarily to the sexual aspect of the union. In China, as in the West, sexual relations between siblings are forbidden. Sexual intercourse between two people who, though unrelated, have called themselves and behaved as brother and sister all their lives seems "wrong." The social technicality that condones such relations between foster siblings is not sufficient to overcome their revulsion. Since Lim Hue-lieng expected to continue his life in the outside world where "normal" sexual activity was readily available, perhaps the incestuous feelings that make such a marriage unbearable to others did not worry him.

12 description of a Taiwanese village concluded that its dominant residence pattern was patrilocal (Johnson, 1966). Dominant was employed in a statistical sense, i.e., most common. However, in the same paper, detailed data were provided describing each marriage. My computations which were solely based on the listed data revealed that 31% of the residences after marriage were patrilocal and 33%, neolocal. Therefore, the author's abstraction that patrilocal residence is dominant is not supported by his own data. This is not a deliberate falsification for it is highly probable that the villagers would also agree with the investigator's contention that most brides join their husbands at his father's house.

The second example is similar. At a meeting in Taipei, I heard a sociologist's description of a typical[3] Chinese wedding on Taiwan replete with the bride's red dress and sedan chair which closely matched traditional accounts. The use of the term typical implies that the described pattern was most frequent. In my own village, a Western-style white wedding gown rather than a red chi pao (tight-collared slit-sided Chinese dress) was usual and at the only wedding where the bride wore a red dress, my Chinese assistant was very excited by the fact that the bride was not wearing what he called the "traditional white gown." Therefore, after the paper was concluded I questioned the author informally. In his village, he had

considered acceptable by rural people. It is said that city people prefer a pig of 160 chin or less because they prefer less fat.

Two years ago the slaughtering tax was only $280.00. Under the Japanese, a similar slaughtering permit was required but the tax then represented less than 10% of the pig's value whereas now it is close to 20%. In any case, the high tax plus the high cost of the bean cakes has created the belief that no one can make a profit raising pigs although the government, through the farmers' association, is encouraging farmers to raise pigs. The village Small Unit Head and Vice Unit Head of the association have attended several meetings concerned with encouraging hog production. Although they have passed out much literature, they have had little success in promoting pig production. No small part of their failure is because they too believe that there is little profit in pigs although in order to set an example, both are raising more pigs than the average villager. Pigs seem more valuable for their manure in making compost than for meat. Only farmers who have ready sources of pig feed and a need for fertilizer raise pigs. There is one major exception, a family planning a wedding may raise a pig for the feast. Although the amount saved is not much, the cost goes out a little at a time rather than a big cash expenditure at the time of the wedding. Only one Sanlei man presently is trying to raise pigs for a profit.

593 virtual stranger. A. P. Wolf is a notable exception
583 (1968). He reports that chao fu husbands are often pampered in their new homes, a behavior pattern also common in Sanlei because of the fear the man will leave. For Sanlei, in 1 of 4 marriages, it is the male who must adjust to the female's household with her father usually the effective head.

Siaosiv (Adopted Daughter Marriage)

584 Of the 94 marriages under consideration, twelve
597 (12.8%) were the type discussed by Fei (1939:53) as the siaosiv marriage and elaborated by Lang (1946:127) and Gallin (1966:163-6). In brief, for Sanlei, the parents of a boy adopt a female baby three to ten years (average seven) after the birth of a boy and raise them as brother and sister. With about six months notice, when the girl
[585] is 18 or 19, the couple are married. There are rarely parties or any significant wedding ceremony as merely "putting the shoes under the bed," or "pushing them together." (see Glossary C). The first phrase is also associated with common-law marriages and the remarriage of
554 587 688 widows or divorcees. These marriage types all share in common a relatively low status in the village value system.

585 Under normal circumstances, a wedding is a gay occasion with a big dinner, many guests, etc. The affair lasts most of a full day with the newly-weds as the center

585 of attention. Important guests toast them and speeches are made about them and their families. In the whole life cycle, the funeral of an old person is the only rite de passage approaching it in importance. If a person does not have a wedding party, it is likely he will never be the center of attention at any major affair. Since he also goes to his friend's weddings, he wants his family to [885] reciprocate as a host. The wedding also marks his status change from immaturity to full adult, since an unmarried man of 30 cannot hold traditional positions available to a married man of 24. The wedding party marks this status change for everyone in the area to see and without a big ceremony the status change is not clearly communicated.

178 584 597 This kind of marriage, the siaosiv, is often discussed in Chinese ethnographies but, once more, rarely are statistical data provided. Gallin points out that the practice is relatively important in Hsin Hsing but declining in frequency (1966:155) as is also true in Sanlei. Adoption of daughters remains very common in Sanlei (see subsequent section), but marriages of the siaosiv type are relatively rare given the number of possibilities, i.e., families with an adopted daughter and natural son of appropriate ages. Of the 119 marriages previously listed for another Hokkien village, 23 were siaosiv (19.3%), even higher than the 12.8% listed for Sanlei (A. P. Wolf, 1966: 889).

Adopted Sons

597 562 In addition to birth, boys may also be incorporated into a family through adoption. Adoption of males usually occurs when they are very young and tends to be full and complete. The adoption of baby boys is much less frequent [162] than that of girls. At the time of the census there were only seven males (3.2%) living in Sanlei who had ever been adopted, a significant contrast with the 16% adopted females. There are two major types of boy adoptions.

The type which is considered a mere sale comprised five of the seven male adoptions in Sanlei. As described by Gallin for Hsin Hsing (1966:166-8), no permanent relations are established or maintained between the two families in the transaction and there are strenuous efforts to keep any information about an adopted boy's natal family 597 secret. In contrast, the marriage ceremony of an adopted 562 girl frequently involved three families: the groom's, • 585 the girl's natal and the girl's adoptive. It is not uncommon in the case of an adopted daughter's wedding for the bride to return to her natal home for a day or two before the wedding. Also, the usual visit by bride and groom three days after their marriage is consumated to worship the wife's ancestors is often to both of the girl's homes, natal and adopted. In the case of the marriage of an adopted boy who was merely sold, however, the boy's 597 natal family is seldom involved. Villagers believe that

783
796
789 smouldering ashes at the end and the ceremony proper was over.

I cannot explain why no one was burned. I carefully examined the feet of several men over the next few days and none turned red, blistered, or seemed painful to the touch. The villagers all claimed that the men were protected by the gods. One village participant, a boy who became a good informant was as mystified as I. He too carefully examined his feet each day because he felt he was being burned during the trip through the fire, but now claims that the gods must have protected him. In this manner, the ceremony helped dispel some of the doubts common in the village with reference to the power of the gods.

783
796 The gods were then returned to the temple or their regular resting places and shortly thereafter, the puppet
[782] show began. Elaborate food sacrifices were made to the gods in the temple, to the earth god, to the negative spirits, and in the homes as everyone observed the quality and
[574] quantity of each other's sacrifices. Almost every household had elaborate dinners that evening with many guests from outside and inside the village including elected officials, salesmen and several policemen from both Pouti and
[628] Hsin Tien. There were many residents from other nearby villages and eventually, Sanlei villagers would be guests at their affairs.

796
• 585 During the same evening, two wedding feasts were held although the respective ceremonies had begun in the

796 585 morning as usual. The hosts explained that there would be many guests and elaborate food for the "Fire Purification Ceremony" in any case and therefore, it was economical to have a wedding the same day as a big village ceremony. Additionally, the gods had already decided the day was auspicious for worship and therefore, also auspicious for weddings.

796 783 521 The drinking and eating parties lasted until after midnight, an unusually late hour in village life. Much conversation was devoted to the ceremony and to what the gods had stated about the village and individual villagers. The various statements from the gods were badly distorted as they spread through the community for with the gongs clanging and people running and screaming, many statements were none too clear to start. Additionally, since they tended to be invested with high levels of emotional content, they were subject to considerable distortion as they passed through communication chains. No one villager had heard every statement in the original form. The statements will be repeated innumerable times and will be remembered for many years and the ceremony itself will be discussed for a long time, both in the village and in the region for miles around.

796 783 794 The last official function of the responsible committee was fulfilled the next day. At the meeting, the members prepared a final accounting of receipts and

796 524 435 [585] The affair involved a sizeable expenditure of resources. The temple committee collected and spent over $5,500.00. The two weddings scheduled because of the ceremony, one with eight tables (80 guests) and the other with five tables (50 guests) meant a dinner guest fee[10] alone of over $6,000.00 without the additional gifts and expenses. Sixty-one other households held elaborate dinners with feasts too for there were more guests in the village than residents. For one of the richer households, the additional expenditures on food and drink as compared with a typical day exceeded $700.00. To assess the size of this [434] figure, note that an experienced farm laborer earns but $50.00 for a full day's work. No villager seemed too unhappy about the expenditure as people claim they now "dare to spend money" (see Glossary C). The expenditures for [178] pai pai have increased in Sanlei village, a process that seems common to all of Taiwan and which reflects the overall growing prosperity.

Summary

791 Religion is very important in Sanlei Ts'un. Although little importance can be attached to an organized hierarchy of religious functionaries, there are many kinds of unorgan- 782 ized specialists who are consulted as needs arise. Additionally, almost everyone in the village can and does perform religious acts regularly. There is daily worship in most homes and special worship connected with almost every important event: life crises, health, and economic

The ritual for a regular marriage is not unlike that described for other parts of Taiwan (Gallin, 1966; Wolf, 1965; Diamond, 1969). In brief, the matchmaker, usually a part-time occupation, completes the negotiations between the two families. A priest to ascertain ritual suitability may be consulted (See Chapter VII). There will usually be a bride price plus gifts totaling nearly $7,000.00 although the bride will bring a dowry which should equal the bride price but rarely does. There are periodic gifts to be exchanged between the two families with the total amount exchanged marking the status of the two families. The engagement ceremony is performed at the bride's house while the bride faces away from her family altar. The wedding, some months later, is at the groom's house where the bride is fetched by the groom's family and friends in the morning. Upon arriving, they first worship while facing the boy's family altar and then retire to the bedroom where they will remain for most of the next three days. During the day they receive guests, coming out only for elimination, a luncheon party for family intimates, and a huge dinner party that night. Guests at dinner bring a monetary gift to pay their share of the cost because before the invitation is extended, everyone is aware of the proper amount. Ten people sit at each rented table and the status of the boy's family is rated by counting the number of tables. After three days, the newlyweds will return to the bride's home for lunch and to report the wedding to her ancestors. The

585 wedding of an adopted-in husband is nearly the mirror image of this, the wedding feast held at the home of the bride.

184 585 Of course, many marriages are not this elaborate. In the case of a marriage between very poor people, many older people living alone, or if between a son and adopted daughter, there may be no marriage party or ritual recognition at all. Villagers refer to these kinds of marriage 587 as "putting the shoes under the bed" (See Glossary C). The latter type is also common for remarriage after divorce or death of a spouse for there is some disapproval of a second marriage, but nevertheless, everyone agrees a man or woman with small children must remarry fairly quickly. Only 586 people with older children regularly fail to remarry. In a divorce, children are expected to remain with the father or, if he was an adopted-in husband, shared between father and mother.

587 The remarriage of a widow with children is expected to be with an adopted-in husband. By bearing a child, a woman has been fully incorporated into her first husband's family who will therefore probably play a part in the selection of the second husband. The second husband agrees to provide financial support for her previous children and if she had had several (which would likely reduce her marriage prospects), one may be given in adoption to a second husband as a marriage inducement.

587 765 There is no long period of mourning holding up a remarriage. The day after the funeral of a miner killed in

581 meeting until the wedding day, and even many "love" mar-
585 riages are between relative strangers. Yet, the first night should be witness to consummation. There are culturally provided mechanisms to ease the establishment of a relationship. On the wedding day, there have been many guests and activities allowing the newly-weds no time alone with each other and the first evening, the groom and bride are both a little high but neither is really drunk. Normally, a host will kan bei (bottoms up) with guests, one at a time, but a groom is permitted to use his best friends as proxies. A toast is normally in three parts: a salute with the glass, drinking it down, and another salute which demonstrates the glass is empty. The groom performs the first and last part with his male friends doing the drinking, but he and the bride both have a few drinks with the more important guests. When they enter the bedroom, they will be isolated for a three day period of adjustment, even their food will be left outside the door. They may use a chamber pot but many sneak out to use the toilet.

593 After this, further cultural provisions help ease the strain. For example, since married couples are not permitted to show public affection, they do not have to pretend affection; they do not have to pretend in public everything is wonderful in spite of the fact they have quarreled in private.

It is usually many years before a married couple walk together and stand close in public as when watching an

864 within hearing distance although someone will occasionally
864 shush them. During the wedding party in front of all the
842 guests and children too, the bride is given a flower to
• 585 hold, the name of which has exactly the same sound as the common term for penis, for the purpose of helping to produce male offspring. Earthy remarks though resound softly throughout the audience such as, "Do you think it is too big?" "Have you ever squeezed one before?" or "That's not the only one you will get today" (See Glossary C).

833 Sexual intercourse is a natural function, to be enjoyed by men and women alike. It is recognized that there may be differences in a married pair's respective sexual appetites and an agreement that it is the responsibility of each to provide for the other. Male appetites are large at marriage but women usually take time to develop them, not reaching a peak until after age 30. Females are quite shy and rarely initiate sexual intercourse until married quite a while although there are exceptions.

Sexual intercourse is only properly performed in bed at night after dark, preferably at midnight, by a married couple who are seldom fully unclothed. The children sharing the bed should be asleep, checked by pinching them. Children learn to face away from the center of the bed and lie still for it is not proper for anyone to acknowledge that intercourse has taken place although with the crowded houses and the walls reaching neither floor nor ceiling, everyone can hear the creaking beds and distinctive sounds